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AUTHOR Leavitt, Harold J.; And Others
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ABSTRACT

This study tests hypotheses about achievement orientation, particularly vicarious achievement. Undergraduate students (N=437) completed multiple-choice questionnaires, indicating likely responses of one person to the success of another. The sex of succeeder and observer, closeness of relationship, and setting (medical school or graduate school of education) were varied. It was found that more vicarious achievement responses were generated by close relationships. Male and female subjects selected vicarious responses with the same frequency, but both ascribed more vicariousness to females. Competitive responses were more frequent in the medical school setting than in the education school. (Author)

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VICARIOUS ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION

Harold J. Leavitt
Stanford University

Jean Lipman-Blumen
National Institute of Education

Susan Schaefer
University of California, Hayward

Reuben Harris
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

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of the American Psychological Association
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Vicarious Achievement Orientation

Despite many research attempts, the dynamics of female achievement patterns remain unclear. Discussion (Horner, 1968, 1970, 1972; Lockheed, 1975; Curtis, Zanna, Campbell, 1973; Tresemer, 1973; Levine and Crumrine, 1974; Sex Roles, 1975) of women's "fear of success" may have obscured the importance of investigating what may be viewed as a more prevelant and nonpathological orientation on the part of women:[1] a vicarious achievement orientation. By vicarious achievement orientation we mean the tendency to take satisfaction and pleasure through someone else's activities, qualities, and accomplishments. It is a means of finding personal fulfillment (in any of several ways) through the activities and qualities of another individual.[2]

Vicarious here means mediated through affiliative relationships with other persons. Vicarious achievers derive satisfaction through the achievements of another, by identifying with that other and/or taking a physical or psychic share of the other's achievements. Vicarious achievers often seek out "facilitating", "enabling" or even "behind-the-scenes" roles whereby they participate in and foster the achievement of others. We differentiate vicarious from direct achievement orientations, in which a person, independently and often competitively, goes after a goal, without any mediating use of an affiliative relationship with another person.[3,4]

The concept of vicarious achievement has been elaborated elsewhere (Lipman-Blumen & Leavitt, 1976). This paper outlines some initial research into the conditions which elicit vicarious achievement behavior.

Literature Review

The vicarious achievement orientation has been the focus of a small nucleus of studies. Lipman-Blumen (1972) looked at the tendency of women college students with a traditional sex-role ideology to fulfill "their achievement needs either completely or predominantly through the accomplishments of their husbands." In a later paper, Lipman-Blumen (1973) linked vicarious achievement orientation (defined as in the present research) to occupational choice, and described a sexuality scoring system as the mechanism for keeping women channeled into "appropriate (and traditional) feminine occupational roles."

Lipman-Blumen and Leavitt (1976) have developed a typology of achievement orientations involving six positions, three vicarious and three direct. They have articulated the concepts of (1) intrinsic, (2) competitive, and (3) instrumental direct achievement, as well as (4) altruistic, (5) contributing, and (6) instrumental vicarious achievement. In addition, they have attempted to delineate the underlying developmental model.

Tresemer and Pleck (1974), in a study of the reaction of male subjects to achieving women, suggested a complementary type of vicarious achievement between men and women. They propose that American men live <u>emotionally</u> vicariously through their wives' emotionality, while women live vicariously through their husbands' instrumental (or what we call "direct") achievements. (The implications for women's self-concept of this imbalance in complementarity, resulting from the higher value placed on direct acheivement, remains to be explored.)

Some researchers have seen vicarious achievement orientation as

class-linked (Rainwater, Coleman & Handel, 1962), with working-class wives being noticeably less involved than middle-class wives in their spouses' occupational roles. Lopata (1971) noted that the "more highly educated woman who has herself worked in complex organizations" is most likely to be intimately involved in her husband's occupation role.

Papanek (1973) related the vicarious achievement syndrome in American women to the predominantly middle-class phenomenon of the two-person single career in what a "combination of formal and informal institutional demands ...[are] ... placed on both members of a married couple of whom only the man is employed by the institution." (p. 90). Papanek sees this as an important pattern in resolving the dilemma posed by the antithetical existence of an "explicit ideology of educational equality between the sexes" and an "implicit ... inequality of occupational access." (p. 90). Papanek suggests the two-person single career as a "social control mechanism which serves to direct the occupational aspirations of educated women into the noncompetitive 'two-person career' without openly injuring the concept of equality of educational opportunity for both sexes." Papanek correctly notes that the "'two-person career' pattern is fully congruent with the stereotype of the wife as supporter, comforter, backstage manager, home maintainer, and main rearer of children". (p. 91).

Gump, in a study of 162 female college seniors (1962), explored the self- and other-orientation of these women in relation to educational and occupational goals, academic ability, elation-depression and ego strength.[5]

Gump's findings suggest that high ego strength is "inversely related to adoption of [the traditional] female sex role, that more purposive, resourceful women are less traditional in the sex role orientation." However, Gump's other-oriented, high ego strength women still expected to express these orientations and their need for individual identity separately from their family roles primarily within the limitations of traditionally feminine occupations.

Women's tendency to adopt an other- or vicarious-orientation most probably stems from their reportedly strong need (whether socially learned or innate) for affiliation. Needs for affiliation, developed at an early age, can be transferred easily into other- or vicarious- orientations.

Hoffman's review of the affiliation literature (1972) focuses on the relationship between females' affiliation needs and achievement motives. She concludes that girls' (compared to boys') less frequent engagement in independent exploration of their environments is related to parental conditioning early on. Girls receive greater protection and support from parents (particularly mother), less encouragement to establish a separate identity from mother, and less mother-child conflict associated with establishing an identity separate from the mother. This pattern tends to support patterns of dependency in girls, and to socialize girls to expect help from others in mastering their environments. Thus, affiliation is a means of achieving mastery for girls, who are socialized to seek this help from others in mastering their environments. Boys, by contrast, are more likely to be pressured into individualistic effectance through

achievement responses. We assume that American women generally have been socialized more than men to utilize (or conform to) vicarious rather than direct mechanisms.

3. There will be greater overall ascription of vicarious behavior when the observer in the relationship is a woman, regardless of the sex of the succeeder. Once more, we are assuming a standard which legitimates and encourages vicarious behavior for women more than for men, ceteris paribus.

3a. There will be more ascription of vicariousness to relationships in which the observer is a woman and the succeeder is a man than in the reverse or in same-sex relationships. Again, we are presuming a broad social belief (accompanied by consonant social training) that it is more "appropriate" for a woman to behave vicariously in a relationship with a succeeding man than vice versa, or than in same-sex relationships. The major exception to such acceptance would be young women whose exposure to the feminist movement had sensitized them to the disadvantages of vicarious behavior.

4. More overall vicariousness will be ascribed in less competitive settings and less vicariousness in more competitive settings; ceteris paribus.

4a. More fear of failure and fear of success will be ascribed overall in more competitive settings. We wanted here to test the hypothesis (derived from Horner, 1968) (4b) that women respondents would select comparatively more fear of success responses than men in more competitive settings.

Methodology

Our major research instrument is a projective story completion booklet with multiple choice story endings. With one exception, all our stories involve two characters in a specified relationship.[6] One set of single-person stories was used to provide a benchmark for comparison with Horner's (1968) fear of success instrument.

The two-person relationships described in our stories varied from classmates, through best friends to fiance(e)s. These relationships were varied so that they were between two men, two women, or a woman and a man. One member (the "succeeder henceforth) is always described as just having achieved a success. The respondent is asked to respond through the eyes of the other member, the "observer".

The respondent employed in this study were 437 Stanford freshmen, 213 females and 224 males. The instrument was administered by a female undergraduate assistant to individual respondents and to groups of two or three.

Although any individual subject received only five stories, the full instrument consisted of 20 different story beginnings, each followed by a set of eight alternative endings reflecting alternative forms of achievement. Subjects were asked to select the two endings they felt most likely to occur and the two ending least likely to occur in the situation as described.

In all cases the first four stories centered on interactive situations while the last of the five stories in each test booklet was an individual story modelled after Horner (1968)--half of which involved

a succeeding male character and the other half a succeeding female.

The first four stories all involved two characters, a "succeeder" and an "observer". These four stories were very similar in all respects save two. The sexes of the observer and the succeeder were systematically varied, so that in approximately equal proportions of stories both characters were female, or both male, or a female observer was paired with a male succeeder, or vice versa, or a male observer was paired with a female succeeder. The nature of the relationship depicted between observer and succeeder was also varied. Three relationships were included: A classmate relationship, i.e., the observer and succeeder are described simply as classmates (all four combinations of sexes were used here); a best friend relationship, between two males or between tow females; and a fiance(e) relationship between a female observer and a male succeeder, or between a male observer and a female succeeder. Here is a sample of a classmate story:

> At the end of her first term in medical school, Francine learns that her classmate, Sally, is at the top of their class....

And a sample of a fiance(e) story:

> At the end of his first term in medical school, Jeff learns that his fiancee, Lynne, is at the top of their class....

The story characters were given different first names in each story type.

A content analysis of thematic data from a preliminary open-ended study

provided the primary basis for the selection of the eight multiple choice endings which were presented with each story. The eight endings are intended to describe four broad categories of response: direct achievement, vicarious achievement, fear of success, and fear of failure responses.

The two responses for each category (see below) were intended to characterize two somewhat different aspects of that response category, aspects which had emerged from the content analysis of our preliminary data. In one of the two vicarious achievement responses the observer is shown as having taken a supportive or contributing position vis-s-vis the succeeder's success (VA-Con); in the other, the altruistic response, the observer takes pleasure and satisfaction in the succeeder's success (VA-Alt).

The direct achievement category included one intrinsic response, intended to emphasize immediate positive outcomes to be expected from successful performance (DA-Int). The other direct response was predominantly competitive (DA-Comp).

One fear of success response had the observer perceiving negative consequences from success (FS-Neg), and in the second, the observer ascribes success to luck (FS-Luck).

The fear of failure responses were also of two types. In the first, the observer shows self-doubt and uncertainty about his/her (the observer's) own capacity to meet the standards required by the situation (FF-Unc); and in the second, the observer considers withdrawal from the field (FF-W.D.).

Two environmental settings were employed in the stories. For about half of the subjects (n = 211), the setting in which the stories were presented was a medical school; for the other half (n = 226), it was a graduate school of education. Any individual subject received a booklet containing all five stories in the medical school setting or all five stories in the education school setting.

The same eight alternative responses were presented in all two-person stories. Their order was constant as shown in Figure 1, except for names of characters.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Results

We report here a partial analysis of the data from 437 subjects. In the tables below, the two vicarious responses are aggregated, as are the two direct responses and so on. Later, we also report differences between the two responses in each category. First, and second choices from the set of eight alternatives are also aggregated; so if a vicarious response, for example, is shown in our tables as having a 25% frequency, that figure means that that response was chosen in either first or second place by 25% of that set of respondents.

Relational Conditions: The Effects of Closeness

There are three relational conditions in the test stories: classmate, best friend, and fiance(e).[7] For all respondents in both settings (Table 1), the highest frequency of vicarious achievement responses occurs in

in the fiance(e) relationship (51%); the next highest in the best friend relationship (29%); and the lowest in the same sex classmate relationship (20%). The ordering is precisely inverted for direct achievement responses. Fear of success responses are given much less frequently overall and are ordered in the same way as direct achievement, with the lowest fear of success responses in the fiance(e) relationships and the most in the classmate relationships. Fear of failure responses are scarce and do not follow the same order exactly.

Insert Table 1 about here

These findings are consistent with the hypothesis that the more intimate the relationship, the greater the ascription of vicarious achievement behavior.

The Effects of Respondent's Sex

Two findings seem important here (Table 2). First, male respondents ascribed more vicarious achievment responses overall than did females (34% vs. 29%); and female respondents gave a slightly higher percentage (43% vs. 41%) of direct responses than did males.

Insert Table 2 about here

These findings are not consistent with our hypotheses. We suggest, tentatively, that the results may reflect (1) the fact that our subjects are college freshmen who may have had their consciousnesses raised more than the general poplutaion of Americans; or (2) they may indicate that

a widely held cultural stereotype about "male" and "female" attitudes is not true; or (3) it may be that the male and female respondents are differentially ascribing vicarious achievment and direct achievement to male and female observers. The large number of vicarious achievement responses by males, for example, may simply reflect their stereotypical ascription of vicarious achievment to women characters in the stories. The mean scores in Table 3 indicate that a variant of the third proposed explanation may be correct.

Insert Table 3 about here

Table 2 also reveals that, contrary to Horner's findings, women do not give noticable more fear of success responses than males. They may, however, exhibit slightly more fear of failure than do men.

The Effects of Sex Pairings of Story Characters

In two stories, the depicted relationship was between a male observer and a male succeeder (one best friend story and one classmate story); two involved a female observer and a female succeeder (the other best friend story and one classmate story); two involved male observers with female succeeders (one fiancee story, one classmate story); and two involved female observers with male succeeders (the other fiance story and one classmate story). Treating the two male-on-male stories as a set, the two female-on-female stories as a set, and the two pairs of opposite sex stories as sets, the following results emerge (Table 4):

Insert Table 4 about here

The highest percentage of vicarious achievement responses are generated by stories involving a female observer coupled with a male succeeder (51%). The female-on-male fiance story generated the largest number of vicarious achievement responses of any story (Table 3). And the female-on-male classmate story also generates the third highest frequency of vicarious achievement responses. Correspondingly, fewer direct achievement responses are given for the female-on-male fiance story than for any other (about 14%).

Similarly, fear of success and fear of failure responses are lowest in the female-on-male fiance stories.

The important findings here seem to be that vicariousness is ascribed very heavily, ceteris paribus, to women in relationships with succeeding men. In male-on-female relationships, vicarious achievement is ascribed frequently only when the relationship is very intimate (fiancees).

The Effects of Setting (Medical School and Graduate School of Education)

Direct achievement responses were chosen more frequently than any other in both settings (Table 5). But vicarious achievement responses were chosen relatively more often by both sexes in the education school (36%) than in the medical setting (28%), while direct achivement, fear of failure and fear of success responses all occurred slightly more frequently in the medical school setting. This set of findings is at least suggestively consonant with earlier findings (Lockheed, 1975) and with our expectations that the more competitive medical school setting

would increase tensions associated with direct acheivement (Table 5), and reduce the propensity for vicarious behavior.

Insert Table 5 about here

Differences between the Two Responses in Each Response Category

Thus far, we have aggregated data from our two vicarious responses, two direct responses, etc. We had constructed our responses by combining some theoretical ideas with some empirical findings from earlier content analyses of open-ended story completions. So there is room for error deriving from inept wordings of the responses. There also may be differences in the psychological connotations of the two alternative responses classified (by us) as aspects of the same orientation, e.g., the two responses we had called "vicarious". Note, however, that these two responses in each set were intentionally different conceptually, They were not intended as two distinct indices of the same idea, but rather as two related ideas. Tables 6, 7, 8 and 9 break out the data by each of the two responses in each orientation category.

Table 6 indicates that for the two vicarious achievement responses (No. 1 was "contributary" and No. 2 "altruisitic"), the patterns of results do not differ much. Overall, more altruistic than contributory choices were selected. More of both are selected by men than by women, and more of both are selected in the education than in the medical school setting. Thus, the two appear to be essentially substitutable for one another, at least in these settings and for this sample.

Insert Table 6 about here

In Table 7, however, we find some sharp differences. The competitive-direct response (No. 2) is selected much more frequently than the intrinsic response (No. 1) by both sexes in both settings--a finding which may simply indicate that we had worded our No. 1 story unattractively. However, Table 7 also shows that the competitive response is selected more frequently in medical than in education school, by each sex in the educational setting. These differential findings suggest that there may be more than an artifact of wording at work. In the more competitive setting, we get a higher competitive orientation. In the less competitive setting, a higher proportion of the responses focus on the pleasure of the achievement itself.

Insert Table 7 about here

In Table 8, we break out two forms of fear of success responses deriving from Horner (1968). We find first a small overall number of fear of success responses, but the No. 2 (luck) responses are more than double the No. 1 (negative consequences) responses for both sexes in both settings. No other pattern seems to emerge. The difference may be an artifact of our response construction. The overall scarcity of fear of success responses, and the small differences between settings, casts some doubt on the generality of the concept, at least when respondents are given a wide range of choices in two-person stimulus situations.

Insert Table 8 about here

In Table 9 we get large differences between fear of failure response No. 1 (uncertainty) and No. 2 (withdrawal). We think at this point that the uncertainty response may be perceptually equivalent to direct achievement, but accompanied by anxiety. Uncertainty responses parallel direct achievement responses--they occur more in medical than in education school, and they are given more frequently by women than by men.

Insert Table 9 about here

The No. 2 (withdrawal) response is seldom selected in either setting, by either sex.[8] It is either a badly written response or is seen to be a very unlikely outcome.

Individual Stories

A brief analysis of the data from the two individual stories indicated the following:

- A much higher overall proportion of direct responses (75% as compared with 42% in the two-person stories); a lower proportion of vicarious responses (14% as against 31% in two-person stories).

- All responses varied little by sex of story character. For example, 74% direct responses occurred in stories with a male character and 76% in stories with a female character.

- Setting differences were very small.

- Male respondents ascribe fear of success to female characters in

9% of responses, to male characters in 8%. Women respondents ascribe fear of success less to both sexes: to female characters, 6%, to males, 6%.

Summary and Discussion

We have tried to distinguish among four categories of achievement orientation: direct, vicarious, fear of success, and fear of failure. Each of the four categories was in turn composed of two behavioral responses believed to represent two (of several) possible manifestations of each category, using a two-character story completion instrument with several types of relationships on male and female college freshmen. Some students received a form of the instrument presented in a medical school setting (on the presumption that it would be perceived as competitive) and some in a presumably more neutral education school setting.

The most salient findings were these:

1. The more intimate the depicted relationships between the two story characters, the greater the ascription of vicarious achievement behavior, and the less the ascription of direct achievement behavior.

2. Male respondents select slightly more vicarious responses overall than female respondents, and female respondents select slightly more direct responses than males. To a modest extent, too, male respondents ascribe more vicariousness to male characters than female respondents do. But each sex overall ascribes more vicariousness to female story characters than to males.

3. When, in the stimulus stories, a female is depicted observing a male succeeding, vicarious responses are more frequent, and direct res-

ponses less frequent, than in same sex of male-observing-female stories.

4. Slightly more vicariousness is ascribed in an educational school setting than in the presumably more competitive medical school setting.

We tentatively conclude that a test instrument which permits alternatives to direct achievement responses will indeed generate alternative forms of achievement. In this case, an instrument which includes a salient relationship between two persons generates increasing proportions of vicarious achievement responses with increasing intimacy of the relationships.

Our data offer some reason to believe that respondents of both sexes stereotypically ascribe more vicariousness to both sexes in the more neutral educational than in the more competitive medical setting.

We do not conclude that we have discovered sex differences in achievement orientations. We have no evidence that women respondents show more vicariousness than men. Indeed, male respondents offer slightly more vicarious responses than females. But both sexes appear to subscribe to the classic stereotype in ascribing consistently more vicariousness to female story characters than to males.

Given that we were studying a college-age population who may be more influenced than older groups by the more "liberated perspective" of the feminist movement, it is possible that the results would differ in a population with greater age variability. Further research into correlates and varieties of achievement orientation is feasible and necessary in order to explicate the more subtle dynamics of these phenomenona.[9]

Reference Notes

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Footnotes

[1]This is not meant to imply that men do not share in the vicarious achievement orientation. We are merely suggesting that vicarious achievement in women has been overlooked because of the unusual amount of attention given to "fear of success".

[2]Basic to this conceptualization of vicarious achievement is the concept of identification with a "significant other". By identification, we do not mean a perceived similarity of personality characteristics or character structure. Rather, identification here means accepting as one's own the interests, goals and values of another. One result of identification is the sharing of responsibility for the results of another person's actions or qualities. This responsibility sharing is a dimension of vicarious achievement in which the vicárious achiever shares both the negative and positive aspects of achievement. We expect that this type of identification is more likely to occur when the relationship between two individuals is intimate, involved and significant such as in the relationship between family members. On the surface, this seems to imply an emotional symmetry between the two individuals involved. Although this type of emotional symmetry may increase the level of identification on the part of the primary identifier, it is not a necessary component of identification. The sense of identification may be primarily unilateral. For example, political candidates often are the object of identification for their devoted followers, without being reciprocally emotionally involved with their supporters.

[3]For a discussion of a typology of vicarious and direct achievement modes and the underlying model, see Lipman-Blumen, J., & Leavitt, H. J. Vicarious and direct achievement patterns in adulthood. The Counseling Psychologist, 1976, 6, 1, 26-32.

[4]The important point is simply that one individual takes as his or her own the goals, values and interests of another individual, and this phenomenon of identification appears to be a necessary condition for the development of anchored (vs. latent) vicarious achievement orientation. The tendency towards a vicarious achievement orientation can also exist latently without a specific object of identification. We suggest that vicariousness be treated as a generalized orientation that subsumes a predisposition to identify with others, while the actual individual(s) with whom the vicarious achiever identifies may vary over time (and for women may covary with stages in the life cycle). In addition, the absence of a specific individual at any given point in time will not vitiate the vicarious achievement orientation, although it will probably convert it to its latent form. The vicarious achievement orientation is developed as an abstract and latent mode in which to cast behavior, and may, in fact, be activated only by the process of identification with a particular "significant other". It is possible that the vicarious achievement orientation, once established, may server as an impetus for seeing appropriate individuals as objects with whom to identify for fulfillment of achievement needs. In other words, once the underlying pattern of vicarious achievement orientation is established, with its

built-in predisposition to seek an object of identification, the actual identification of a specific individual may be the trigger for activating the whole dynamic, casting it in its anchored (rather than its latent) generalized mode.

[5]In earlier studies (Fand, 1955; Steinman, 1963; Porter, 1967), college women's composite scores of the self- other-orientation revealed consistently moderate sex role attitudes over a 12-year period. They were neither predominantly self- nor predominatly other-oriented.

[6]Horner did include one two-person cue; however, we could find no report of empirical findings involving that cue.

[7]The conditions included a classmate relationship (with two same sex and two opposite sex stories); a best friend relationship (male with succeeding male best friend and female with succeeding female best friend); and two fiance(e) relationships (female with succeeding male fiance and male with succeeding female fiancee).

[8]The one important exception is the story in which a male is observing his fiancee's success. In that story, women respondents select the withdrawal response 14 times in the medical setting, more than twice its frequency in any other story. That story is perhaps the most stereotypically frightening situation of all--one in which a man finds that the woman he is closest to is outdoing him in a highly competitive situation.

[9]To pursue the variability of achievement patterns in different age, race and sociometric groups, a large-scale field study is currently underway.

FIGURE 1
SAMPLE STORY AND RESPONSES

AT THE END OF HER FIRST TERM IN MEDICAL SCHOOL, FRANCINE LEARNS THAT HER CLASSMATE SALLY, IS AT THE TOP OF THEIR CLASS.

( ) 1. Francine is particularly pleased because she and Sally have studied together a lot. Francine feels sure she has made a real contribution to Sally's success.

VA-1
Vicarious Achievement -Contributory-

( ) 2. Francine is glad that Sally has done so well. As she watches the other students and faculty congratulating Sally she thinks, "That's where it's really at. If you perform, good things really will happen.

DA-1
Direct Achievement -Intrinsic-

( ) 3. Francine feels that being at the top of the class is really great until you get there, but in the long run it's going to cause plenty of trouble for Sally's personal life.

FS-1
Fear of Success -Negative Consequences-

( ) 4. Francine is bothered by the fact that Sally made it when she didn't. Francine begins to worry that maybe she really can't keep up with the pace demanded by this school.

FF-1
Fear of Failure -Uncertainty-

( ) 5. Francine is really delighted by the news. She feels proud to be associated with someone as competent as Sally. Indeed, Francine feels that some of Sally's success has rubbed off on her.

VA-2
Vicarious Achievement -Altruistic-

( ) 6. Francine is pleased for Sally but can't help feeling that Sally's present standing is more a matter of luck rather than hard work or intelligence.

FS-2
Fear of Success -Luck-

( ) 7. Francine congratulates Sally but privately decides not to fall behind again. She promises herself to work twice as hard next term. After all, she's a pretty good competitor. She feels sure she can get up to first place next time.

DA-2
Direct Achievement -Competitive-

( ) 8. Francine begins to think seriously about herself. Her own grades weren't very good and she wonders whether or not she ought to quit school rather than flunking out.

FF-2
Fear of Failure -Withdrawal-

TABLE 1

RESPONSES BY CLOSENESS OF
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHARACTERS
(First & second choices combined)
(Education and Medical schools settings combined)

	Direct Achievement		Vicarious Achievement		Fear of Success		Fear of Failure	
	frequency	percent	frequency	percent	frequency	percent	frequency	percent
Both Fiance(e) Stories	252	29	439	51	71	08	97	11
n = 432 stories								
Both Best Friend Stories	379	45	249	29	93	11	130	15
n = 428 stories								
Both Opposite Sex Classmate Stories	389	46	225	27	112	13	124	15
n = 427								
Both Same Sex Classmate Stories	420	49	170	20	120	14	141	17
n = 428								

$X^2 = 219.18$

With 9 d.f., significant, $p < .001$

TABLE 2

RESPONSES BY SEX OF RESPONDENT
(First & second choices combined)
(Both settings combined)
(All stories combined)

	MALES n = 224		FEMALES n = 214	
	frequency	percent	frequency	percent
Both DA responses	725	41	717	43
Both VA responses	599	34	484	29
Both FS responses	193	11	203	12
Both FF responses	236	13	256	15

$X^2 = 10.93$

with 3d.f. significant, $p < .025$

TABLE 3

PERCENT VICARIOUS ACHIEVEMENT RESPONSES
RANKED BY STORY TYPE

(First & second choices combined)
(Both settings combined)

	MALE RESPONDENTS		FEMALE RESPONDENTS		TOTAL	
	frequency	percent	frequency	percent	frequency	percent
Female w/male fiance	157	26	137	28	294	27
Male w/female fiancee	85	14	60	12	145	13
Female w/male classmate	76	13	62	13	138	13
Female w/female best friend	65	11	61	13	126	12
Male w/male best friend	69	12	54	11	123	11
Female w/female classmate	50	08	44	09	94	09
Male w/female classmate	53	09	32	07	87	08
Male w/male classmate	42	07	34	07	76	07
$\bar{M}$ %, when story observer is female =		15		16		15
M %, when story observer is male =		10		09		10

$Chi^2 = 2.48$ Not Significant

TABLE 4

PERCENT RESPONSES BY
SEX PAIRING OF STORY CHARACTERS
(First & second choices combined)
(Both settings combined)

	Direct Achievement		Vicarious Achievement		Fear of Success		Fear of Failure	
	frequency	percent	frequency	percent	frequency	percent	frequency	percent
Both Male observer with male succeeder stories n - 428 stories	406	48	199	23	104	12	142	17
Both Male observer with female succeeder stories n = 435 stories	342	40	232	27	142	16	147	17
Both Female observer with female succeeder stories n = 428 stories	393	46	220	26	109	13	129	15
Both Female observer with male succeeder stories n = 426 stories	299	35	432	51	41	05	74	09

$X^2 = 232.41$

with 9 d.f. significant $p < .001$

TABLE 5

RESPONSES BY SETTING
(First & second choices combined)

		Direct Achievement		Vicarious Achievement		Fear of Success		Fear of Failure	
		frequency	percent	frequency	percent	frequency	percent	frequency	percent
Medical School Setting									
All respondents	n = 211	731	44	464	28	205	12	274	16
Male respondents	n = 106	368	44	254	30	96	11	124	15
Female respondents	n = 105	363	44	210	25	109	13	150	18
Education School Setting									
All respondents	n = 227	709	41	619	36	191	11	218	13
Male respondents	n = 118	355	39	345	38	97	11	112	12
Female respondents	n = 109	354	43	274	33	94	11	106	13

X^2 ed total vs med total - 28.24

with 3 d.f., significant $p < .001$

Percent: of all responses in that setting; or
of all responses by that sex in that setting

TABLE 6

TOTAL VICARIOUS ACHIEVEMENT
RESPONSES BY SETTING
(First & second choices combined)

		Vicarious Achievement$_1$ (contributory)		Vicarious Achievement$_2$ (altruistic)	
		frequency	percent	frequency	percent
Medical School Setting	n = 211	214	13	250	15
Male	n = 106	127	15	127	15
Female	n = 105	87	10	123	15
Education School Setting	n = 227	294	17	325	19
Male	n = 118	161	18	184	20
Female	n = 109	133	16	141	17
Total		508		575	

Chi^2 = .22 Not significant

TABLE 7

TOTAL DIRECT ACHIEVEMENT
RESPONSES BY SETTING
(First & second choices combined)

		Direct Achievement$_1$ (intrinsic)		Direct Achievement$_2$ (competitive)	
		frequency	percent	frequency	percent
Medical School Setting	n = 211	235	14	496	29
Male	n = 106	108	13	260	31
Female	n = 105	127	15	236	28
Education School Setting	n = 227	293	17	416	24
Male	n = 118	148	16	207	23
Female	n = 109	145	18	209	25
Total		528		912	

$Chi^2 = 13.02$ $p < .001$

TABLE 8

TOTAL FEAR OF SUCCESS
RESPONSES BY SETTING
(First & second choices combined)

		Fear of Success$_1$ (negative consequences)		Fear of Success$_2$ (luck)	
		frequency	percent	frequency	percent
Medical School Setting	n = 211	59	04	146	09
Male	n = 106	26	03	70	08
Female	n = 105	33	04	76	09
Education School Setting	n = 227	57	03	134	08
Male	n = 118	31	03	66	07
Female	n = 109	26	03	68	08
Total		116		280	

Chi^2 = .06 Not significant

TABLE 9

TOTAL FEAR OF FAILURE
RESPONSES BY SETTING
(First & second choices combined)

		Fear of Failure$_1$ (uncertainty)		Fear of Failure$_2$ (withdrawal)	
		frequency	percent	frequency	percent
Medical School Setting	n = 211	220	13	52	03
Male	n = 106	102	12	22	03
Female	n = 105	120	14	30	04
Education School Setting	n = 227	172	10	46	03
Male	n = 118	86	09	26	03
Female	n = 109	86	10	20	02
Total		394		98	

$Chi^2 = .35$ Not significant